1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

imponderabilia of native life which Malinowski so aptly insists be given. 600

It was the goal of the Laboratory group to cover all phases of Comanche culture in its investigations. That that goal was not encompassed must be expected. Limits of time and circumstance produce inevitable shortcomings. For the first portion of the field session, the seven members of the group worked as a single unit in obtaining orientation in the culture and field technique. Later we spread to work with different informants, each investigator focussing his efforts on a particular phase of the culture. Regular exchange of material and discussion of results kept the work correlated. Such unified effort by a number of workers overcomes to a large degree the hampering limitations imposed by time and, as a result, did bring us closer to our goal.

The method of inquiry was to put pump-priming questions to the informant, who was encouraged to expound to the limit of his knowledge on all subjects where it appeared that he had knowledge to impart. Questions which would evoke a categorical answer were avoided so far as possible. When it came to seeking materials on "law," the questions which I put were designed for the most part to probe into dispute situations, since most law is concerned with definition of conflict of interests. Due to the paucity of published information on the Comanches, preconceptions of what to expect were ruled out. For purposes of classification and analysis a working hypothesis as to what is to be meant by "law" was worked out after the field study had been finished. The formulation of that hypothesis is included in this memoir so that it may be exposed to full criticism.

The data used in this work are of course all secondary. Comanche culture as here recorded has been defunct for fifty years and more. That a certain amount of error exists in data recorded so long after the fact is inevitable. In mitigation, however, it must be remembered that the illiterate Indian keeps a better vocal record than we are accustomed to do. The effort was made to check all cases against each other through independent informants. When contradictions appeared the cases were checked still further until a least common denominator seemed found. Most of the cases presented in the text are presented as given by the interpreter. We did our best to train interpreters to translate literally. Those cases given in quotes are presented as recorded (except for slight literary editing), while those cases given without benefit of quotes are paraphrased to obtain condensation.

The cooperation of the old Comanches who were approached for aid in making this study of their aboriginal culture was most gratifying. With a marked historical sense and a nostalgic pride in their old way of life, they

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

186 were generally willing to cooperate to the best of their knowledge. Again
●124 and again they expressed the wistful wish that the recordings taken by the Laboratory group may find their way into the hands of their children and grandchildren. "When we are gone, and there is no one to tell them, we want them to be able to read it in the book," they said. We, the investigators, were often subjected to impromptu quizzes by the informant when we came to the end of a particularly difficult problem, so that the Indian could satisfy himself that what had been written was written correctly. The Comanches revealed a genuine desire for completeness and accuracy in the production of their ethnology.

000 Finally, the reader must keep in mind that this memoir is not a complete Comanche ethnography. I have tried to keep the treatment of all phases of political and legal problems in their proper cultural context. Even so, it is possible that a magnified picture of Comanche law may result. The reader is warned to make his own corrections for distortion by doing his best to keep the broader cultural background of Comanche society constantly in mind.

122 The contribution of the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology towards the publication of this memoir has been made possible by a grant extended by the Southwest Society. The author's sincerest appreciation is extended to these two organizations and to the American Anthropological Association for their generous interest and aid in making publication possible.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

speaks of the 'Comances' as "in stature rather low, and in person often approaching to corpulency." Richardson (1829, p. 61) quotes Marcy's description of the Comanches in 1854 as men "about medium stature, with bright copper-colored complexions and intelligent countenances, in many instances with aquiline nose, thin lips, black eyes and hair, with but little beard." Finally, Boas (1895) reports stature for seventy-four and cephalic index for twenty-nine Comanche males measured by his students at the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893. Except for additional casual statements about their appearance, nothing else on the physical status of the Comanches, to the writer's knowledge, has appeared in print.

PRESENT STUDY

The present study comprises thirty-five full- and probably full-blood males, twenty-five full-blood females, and twenty-five mixed bloods. The numbers are regrettably small, but mixture of blood is so prevalent that little better was possible under the circumstances. Virtually every town and surrounding environs where Comanches lived—Lawton, Cache, Fletcher, Walters, Mt. Scott—was visited in the search for full-bloods. By full-blood the writer means a person with no other blood than that of his tribe as far back as he can remember, and as far as other, older, members of the tribe recall; this criterion must agree with the physical diagnosis based on character of hair, color of eyes and hair, Hrdlička's skin reaction, pigmentation, general appearance, etc. All reasonable precautions were taken in the present study to insure accuracy of judgment.

The number of virtually certain full-bloods, nineteen males and twenty-five females, although small, is believed to be a typical group. Data are therefore given in some detail, more so since the full-blood is rapidly becoming totally eliminated and other information is meager.

A number of the subjects examined appeared full-blood, yet for one reason or another, the diagnosis could not be as certain as desirable. These subjects were designated as 'prob-

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

able[1] full-bloods. They appear more divergent metrically than either full- or mixed-bloods, and are therefore treated separately.

The data for the mixed-bloods will not be given in detail, inasmuch as the group is made up about equally of Mexican, other Indian, and white admixture, no one sub-group being large enough to give a reliable sample. Mixed-bloods were measured incidentally, all time and effort being exerted in mustering full-bloods. It may be mentioned, however, that, in general, the mixed-bloods, especially the Mexican-Comanches, resembled the full-bloods to a remarkable degree, so much so that not infrequently it was quite difficult to distinguish one from the other. Exactly this same situation was commented upon long ago by Fitzpatrick, as quoted by Mooney.[6]

There have been suggestions, even positive assertions, that the Comanches were physically as well as linguistically related to the Shoshoni.[7] The Comanches have been compared, therefore, with the latter in as great detail as the available Shoshoni material allowed. The Apache (San Carlos), Dakota Sioux, Indians of the Southwest and Mexico, and Old U. S. Whites, have also been more or less utilized for comparative purposes because of similarity to, or to show in sharper relief, the Comanche characters.

Measurements were taken with tested, standard instruments, and the methods followed are those endorsed by the International Agreement.[8] The writer is deeply indebted to Drs. Aleš Hrdlička, of the U. S. National Museum, and Truman Michelson, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for their instructions in method and invaluable advice throughout

[6] Loc. cit., p. 174.

[7] Physically, the Comanche retain something of the heavy featured face of the true Shoshone . . . ." (Farrand, '04, p. 144).

". . . . it is highly probable that if the fact could be ascertained, which I have no doubt a thorough research would establish, it would be shown that the Shoshoneans, Comanches, and Utes were formerly one and the same people—a conclusion based upon the similarity of their language—and physical characteristics." (Clark, 1885, p. 119.)

[8] Hrdlička (A.), Anthropometry. The Wistar Institute, Philadelphia, 1920.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

SOME NOTES ON USES OF PLANTS BY THE COMANCHE INDIANS

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University of Cincinnati
and
VOLNEY H. JONES
University of Michigan

114 THE notes on which this paper is based were gathered chiefly by Mr. Carlson during the summer of 1933, while a fellow of the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, New Mexico, and a member of a field group of that institution led by Dr. Ralph Linton. The research was made on the Comanche Indian Reservation near Indiahoma, Comanche County, Oklahoma, as a small part of a general ethnographic study of the Comanche. The briefness of the expedition and the broadness of the general investigation did not permit much time to be spent on ethnobotany. It is realized that this paper does not by any means exhaust the subject of Comanche plant uses, and it was hoped that further field work might be done. As this has not been possible and as the publication of the bulk of the report of the expedition may be delayed, it seems advisable to publish these notes at this time.[1]

[115] 124 An educated Comanche informant-interpreter, Herman Asenap, assisted materially in contacting the older non-English-speaking members of the tribe and was of invaluable aid in acquiring and interpreting information. Whenever possible a specimen of the plant to be identified was gathered in the presence of the informant, but when this was not practical as complete a description as possible was obtained. Suggestions concerning the identity of a number of these plants have been made with some assurance from descriptions, 000 common names, and manner of use. The specimens which were

[1] Thanks are here expressed to the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, to Dr. Linton, and to members of the party for permission to publish these data.

[pp 1-516 not processed]

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[9]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms.

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain

[9] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias.

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: I*

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Introduction
2. Comanche history
3. Aspects of Comanche language
3.0. Affinities within Uto-Aztecan
3.1. Consonants
3.2. Vowels
3.3. Prefixation
3.4. Infixation
3.5. Suffixation
3.6. Enclisis
3.7. Paradigm of clitic affixes
3.8. Compounding
3.9. Reduplication
3.10. Stem classes
3.11. Words
3.12. Syntax

* This is the first of three journal articles on Comanche Linguistic Acculturation which was prepared as a single long paper. The data on which this paper is based were collected among the Comanche Indians living in or near Indiahoma, Oklahoma, in the summer of 1940 when the writer was one of a field party of graduate students under the direction of George Herzog, then of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. A vocabulary of about 2500 words and phrases was collected, primarily by directly eliciting Comanche equivalents for English terms. James Chebahtah, an experienced Comanche-English interpreter, was the chief informant. Additional materials were supplied by Herman Asenap, Robert Coffee, huuwihtikwa?, an old woman who spoke only Comanche, and in varying amounts by several other informants. Tony Martinez, who was also fluent in Spanish, was an especially valuable linguistic informant. The vocabulary was checked by Herzog and myself for the accuracy of both phonetic transcription and meaning. Material gotten from one person was checked with a different informant.

I am indebted, first of all, to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University whose financial aid made the trip possible; to George Herzog, now Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University, for his continued interest and many good offices; to my colleagues in the field who are in a very real sense my collaborators; to Professors Joseph H. Greenberg, William Duncan Strong, Julian H. Steward, and Alfred L. Kroeber for their guidance and good counsel; to William Smalley who has generously lent both his time and knowledge of the Comanche language; and finally to my Comanche friends and informants.

192 sway when first received as rations]; *wokohuheu? *parrot* (*pine bird*) [So-called, according to one informant, because of markings on feathers]; wo·navina·? *canteloupe* (*striped sweet*).

yananīkitĭ *movies* (vibrate, flicker); yīcī?e·tĭ *airplane* (customarily flies); yīyītu? *jello* (shakes jerkily); yokarīhkapĭ *okra* (slimy food); yoniwanapĭ *soft and fine cotton or woolen* cloth [yoniketĭ *soft, fine, fuzzy* + wanapĭ *cloth*]; *yu·puhiwĭ *iron* (common metal); *yu·taivo·?[n] *Mexican* (*common White man*); yu·tihkapĭ *beef, meat* (*common food*); yu·tīso·nA *tin plate* (*ordinary plate*); yu·kwasu? *everyday dress* (*ordinary dress, shirt*); yuhuruka? *candle* (*grease lamp*); yuhunohkopĭ *fried bread, doughnut* (*grease, fat bread*); yuhuɴacu?U *castor oil* (*oil medicine*); yu·nahu·? *table knife* (*ordinary knife*); yu·wanapĭ *calico, cotton cloth* (*ordinary cloth*); yu·wananapĭ *cotton stockings* (*ordinary stockings*).

192 197 **4.4.** In addition to the new descriptive words listed above, Comanche makes rather frequent use of circumlocutory expressions to designate new traits not boasting words of their own. For the most part these descriptive phrases are used in reference to the less familiar products of American culture, or as a means of delimiting meaning in ambiguous contexts, e.g., sīkīka?ma? could be used instead of the longer phrase given below if the meaning *lemon* was understood in context. If Comanche did not have a word for, say, *olive* or *sponge*, J, who is a skillful interpreter, when sure of the meaning of the English word would easily improvise a Comanche word or phrase which, as a rule, was readily intelligible to other Comanche. This process was tested and observed repeatedly, and in fact became a popular word-game among our interpreters.

192 124 197

192 197 Many of these periphrastic formations, such as those for *hell* or *lemon*, are fixed in

[n] kusitaivo·? *grey, dark-colored white man*, was also recorded for Mexican.

[p. 227-A]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects of acculturation. It may be noted that in speaking among themselves our interpreters used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[139b] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma-. J pronounced jello, jero-, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

[139b] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

[140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15: 175-188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

[p. 241-B]

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. 191 794 Sermons in the Indian churches are for the most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few 191 sentences at a time. The performance of this function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and [124] the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

English has had another rather different [177 195] influence on Comanche. Many of the younger Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

PHONEMIC RHYTHM IN COMANCHE

WILLIAM A. SMALLEY
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0. Introduction
1. Rhythm
2. Lexically placed stress
3. Interpretation of vowel length
4. Conditioning of intonation
5. Gradient differences

0. At least two points of theoretic interest are revealed by an analysis of Comanche prosodic features.[2] The first of these is that there are rhythm patterns which are arbitrary and contrastive, and which to a degree at least carry emotional affect. They may also possibly be associated somewhat with grammatical sentence types.

The second point of interest is that Comanche shows no structured system indicating affective situations by contrastive intonational pitch contours such as occur in English and many other languages. Affective situations are indicated to a small degree by

[1] The research for and preparation of this paper was accomplished while the author was a guest instructor in linguistics at the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the University of Oklahoma in 1949. Credit is due to the Institute and to The Christian and Missionary Alliance for making this project possible. Data were collected on a tape recorder, with Mrs. Emily Riddles, of Walters, Oklahoma, as the main informant. Materials were checked, and conversation recorded with the help of several other informants. Special thanks are due to Kenneth L. Pike for suggestions and criticisms, and to Elliott Canonge for checking some of the analysis of intonation presented here. Parts of this paper were presented with recorded examples at the summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July, 1949.

[2] Prosodic features are here defined as quantitatively significant phenomena. In Comanche these include phonemic stress, rhythm, and length, and non-phonemic pitch. This definition follows Kenneth L. Pike on 'suprasegmental phonemes' in Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, Ann Arbor, 1947, p. 63a.

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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The Comanche language[1] reveals an unusually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teaching the child to speak. Their use began when the child was old enough to understand, at about one year according to informants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish ways. Today English holds sway and these baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

The following list was checked with eight informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty; feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI? *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔanᵾ́·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[1] The material for this paper was gathered on a field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

000 elsewhere after the battle.

101 **Other tribes were in the area** at the time. From the time of Fort Sill's establishment, the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache were all encamped at the fort; the Arapaho and some Cheyenne were nearby and visited the area. In addition, from 1894 to 1913 a number of Apaches were kept at the post as prisoners of war. They were settled in scattered villages on the post until their release; several of these
172 villages were located near The Jared site. It is
764 unlikely that the Jared site is an Apache burial, however, since burials of the Apaches who died
171 at Fort Sill were made in cemeteries rather than in isolated places and the locations of these cemeteries are known. It is also unlikely that the burial is Kiowa-Apache for although Opler and Bittle state that rocky crevices were preferred burial sites they also point out that burials were not placed in situations where they would be subject to exposure by erosion (Opler and Bittle 1961:384).

764 In an anthropological survey of the Comanches (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:150) there is further substantiation of ravine burials: again they are simple graves in the head of a canyon, crevice, or deep wash and contain "... articles of immediate personal usage belonging to the deceased ..." (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:152).

764 In the Southern Plains only the Cheyenne vie
171 for comparison with the Comanche as regards the custom of ravine or crevice burials: bodies of some of their dead were placed "... in caves or crevices in the rocks ..." (Grinnell 1962:163). Llewellyn and Hoebel likewise record crevice burials for the Cheyenne (1941:213).

[124] Several Kiowas and Comanches were asked about burials like the Jared site; there was total agreement among all that the Kiowa would not place a body in a ravine or crevice but would bury only in an open area. Both the Kiowas and the Comanches were aware of Comanche burials similar to the Jared site. Dodge, then, apparently was describing a practice with very limited distribution; only the Comanche and Cheyenne are known to have made ravine burials.

172 *Dating:* Since the artifacts from the Jared site have not been satisfactorily dated, I will comment on the history of the area, pointing to factors that may more narrowly delimit the date of interment.

648 The Comanches had long been in frequent
175 contact with American, French, and Mexican traders, explorers, and military expeditions be-

[p. 324-A]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

a thorough education and then obtained for him a job as a clerk in a New York counting house when he was seventeen. When the firm failed shortly afterwards, David G. Burnet joined the South American revolutionist, Miranda, who was recruiting at the time in New York. While on his way to Venezuela in 1806, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the Miranda forces.[2]

When the Miranda forces met defeat on the Venezuela coast, Burnet returned to New York but in 1808 went again to Venezuela upon receiving news that the revolution had broken out anew. Miranda, however, assured him that the movement was premature and persuaded him to return to the United States.

In 1813 Burnet moved from New York to Cincinnati, where he studied and practiced law until 1817 before going, on account of his health, to the warmer climate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, to enter a mercantile business engaged in trade with the Indians. Here fate a second time intervened to veto a business career for which he had neither interest nor tact anyway. He was seriously threatened with "pulmonary consumption" in the fall of 1817 and, acting upon the advice of his physician, went west into the open country in the region of the headwaters of the Colorado River where, he reported, "During the years 1818-19 I spent a considerable time with, or in the vicinity of the Comanches of Texas."[3] For more than a year he lived as the Indians did, eating only buffalo and other wild meats, sleeping in the open, and roaming the prairies. He reached west Texas so weak that it was difficult for him to mount his horse unaided; he succeeded in regaining his health beyond his utmost expectations.

While at Nacogdoches in the summer of 1818, Burnet began writing his account of the Indians of Texas for Colonel Jamison. Apparently he had not anticipated this request

2. A. M. Hobby, "Life of David G. Burnet," in Texas Almanac (Galveston), 1873, p. 169.
3. David G. Burnet, August 20, 1847, in Henry R. Schoolcraft (ed.), Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1853), I, p. 229; Texas Almanac, 1857, pp. 182-3.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

and made his observations without notes, for in 1847 he wrote that "Want of an adequate interpreter would alone have precluded me from acquiring minute statistical and other information necessary to that end, had my mind been specially directed to such an object."[4]

Having succeeded in recovering his health, Burnet proceeded to Cincinnati, where he resumed the study and practice of law. It was while he was thus engaged that the *Literary Gazette* published his observations upon the Indians of Texas. Although it is true that the account fails to give a complete picture of Comanche life, it is one of the best of the time and as such should be preserved for posterity. It is also true that in Henry Schoolcraft's *Information Respecting the History, Conditions, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Burnet himself recorded his observations in an article entitled "The Comanches and Other Tribes of Texas and the Policy to be Pursued Respecting Them." But Burnet wrote this article in 1847, he apologized, "in the absence of all memoranda, [and] I must draw from a recollection of near thirty years." Within that thirty-year interval a great deal more transpired in the life of David G. Burnet than normally happens in the entire life span of most men, but that is material worthy of a good biography.

The fact that files of *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette* are quite rare is additional reason for reprinting the Burnet letters. The letters reproduced here are from the file in the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. A similar file is in the Library of Congress.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 8, 1824]

INDIANS OF TEXAS

Nacogdoches, Pro. Texas, August 1818.

Dear Sir:

Yours of—ultimo, acknowledging my Indian schedule, is duly received. You enjoin me to furnish you with a more

4. Burnet, August 26, 1847, in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, I, p. 223.

27: St. Clair & Lowie U,E-4,5 (no date) 1909
NO6 Comanche NO6
Wind River NQ19

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SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

C W 128 124 101

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,[1] Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

W 539 171

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ā'pō ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

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W 825

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

C W 539 171 113

[1] Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236-302).

[p. 265]

29:' Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

ambiguity of powers of the chieftains, it is not surprising that in this tribe there were no public officials endowed with law-speaking or law-enforcing authority. The law of the Comanche was neither legislative nor judge-made. It was, as we have written elsewhere, "hammered out on the hard anvil of individual cases by claimant and defendant pressing the issues in terms of Comanche notions of individual rights and tribal standards of right conduct."[3] Thus it was almost exclusively a system of private law: a system of individual responsibility and individual action; a law that was case made.

The Comanches surely had no love of legalistic formalism, but they were a most litigious people. Their way of life engendered considerable internal friction. It might almost be said that the Comanches savored trouble-making. Their own accounts of their war parties as often as not begin with a laconic "once there was a bunch of Comanches out looking for trouble."

So, also, a man was often moved to take steps that made trouble. He stole another man's wife, or he secretly consorted with her. When this was done, the husband had no choice but to initiate legal action. Magnanimity on his part would bring no praise, for there was no doctrine of turning the other cheek. A man's status turned on his bravery, and for an offended husband not to act reflected merely on his courage; it was seen not as an act of forgiveness but as an expression of lily-livered cowardice. Wife-stealing and adultery were not the result of any sexual deprivation on the part of the offender; they were in effect deliberate challenges to the prestige of the husband. As such, he was forced in the eyes of the people to respond to them.

The way was open to him in legal action. Custom impelled men to violate the marital rights of other men. The culture also provided a legal remedy for the wronged man. Except in a few rare and extreme cases, the wrongdoer fully expected to pay the legal price—and did so without forcing the injured husband to a violent bodily attack. He knew well that he would have to pay a price, but he also knew that if he was steadfast and could outface the other man, the price would be light. In that case he would come out of the affair with greater public respect than the husband and he might get the woman to boot. So he took the risk.

In the memory of a dozen old Comanche informants still living in 1933 forty-five cases of old-time legal actions involving wife-stealing and adultery were still vivid enough for detailed recording.[4] Twenty-two were wife-absconding cases and twenty-three involved adultery.

As it takes two to make a contract it also takes two to commit adultery or a wife-absconding (Comanche women were not forcibly stolen). The woman's role in these affairs was very frequently an expression of individual revolt against the workings of Postulate III.[A] Theoretically in all instances,

[3] Wallace and Hoebel, p. 224.

[4] Cf. Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, pp. 49–59.

A [see category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

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KIOWA AND COMANCHE: A REPORT
FROM THE FIELD

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University of Chicago

Contact and Rapport

C K 123 Physical Factors. The difficulties of the first few months have become routine. Our principal informants let us know which dances and meetings they think we "should" attend as well as those they believe will be of exceptional interest to us (giveaways, etc.). We have come to sense the pace of the lives (for the principal informants) and know which days they are most likely to be at home. The less frequently visited informants still pose problems but the earlier C K 122 frustrations have gone. It was an exceptionally hot summer, and now it is an exceptionally cold and stormy winter. Our suspicion is that the weather will continue to be "exceptional" and difficult. The panel truck has proven itself to be an excellent all purpose vehicle. It negotiates muddy roads and rough terrain in general and with the back fixed up with a writing table and camping equipment it serves as a portable field station. Its pushing abilities are well liked by the informants in bad weather. The disadvantage of course is the rapid depreciation. For what they are worth I have the following observations on cars in this terrain; most automatic transmission cars are difficult on muddy roads and icy paved roads. The Volkswagon is excellent on these roads and is an economy car as well with a good resale value. But a traveling family is a bit cramped in it.

C K 124 Rapport. One important lesson has been learned which necessitates a correction in the first report. Once a respected and reliable informant is found, believe what he tells you. It is usually true K even though it sounds fantastic. In the last report I mentioned that 124 535

C K 114 *Mr. Levy has been a student at the University of Chicago for four years. He has an M.A. in Oriental Languages (Hebrew and Old Testament) and an M.A. in Anthropology.

/page 30 continued/

K one informant told me that he had seen the ghost dance performed
124 several times by the Kiowas when he was about fifteen years old. As
535 he is only sixty-two or three now and the books say that the ghost dance stopped in 1891, I thought that this story was slightly exaggerated. I found an answer to it which also explained why the informants disclaimed any knowledge of cradle boards etc. pushing such things back into the old days. I felt that Devereaux's time warping was at work here. Well after checking a little I found that in spite of a government ban, the Kiowas danced the Ghost dance as a social dance
C at least up to the First World War. Moreover, in time, the informants
K did tell us more and more about the child rearing practices etc. that
123 they "did not remember." It took time, we found, because they were
124 reluctant to admit to whites that any so called "savage" practices
C had ever been known to them at all. Other stories which seemed equally
K fantastic have also turned out to be correct upon cross examination
124 and verification from outside sources.

C /31/With two families we have made most satisfactory and happy
K friendships. But close friendships have their drawbacks. There is
129 an ever increasing involvement in the domestic and political problems of the group and it is a most arduous task keeping oneself from entering into the tangle with gusto..

C The Kiowas seem to be far more amenable to acting as informants
K than do the Comanches. This is perhaps because the Comanches I know
123 have either served as informants before or have been close friends of
124 older men who have been informants in the past. The very man who has brought me into the group as his "friend" and has introduced me to peyote and with whom we have the closest of relationships is the most reluctant to become known as an informant and to work in a formal manner as such.

C My job as curator has become a double edged blade. As time
K has passed it turns out that the people in the historical society and
123 Lawton in general are disliked heartily. They are willing to help me

/page 31 continued/

C K 123 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 123 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

C K 124 123

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 198 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 K 361 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has C K 798 been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [186] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 795 798 [118] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the C K 795 177 history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 164 [755] The Comanches use "crooked mouth," "twisted face," and "twisted up" as synonyms for ghost sickness, and these terms are helpful in their descriptive capacity. It is also significant that Sanapia is almost always successful in curing this affliction in adults, though she is much less efficient in curing these same symptoms when they appear in infants and are considered the result of witchcraft.

A survey of the literature on hemiplegic disorders strongly suggests for consideration a vaguely understood variety of paralysis called Bell's palsy. Bell's palsy is due to the paralysis of the seventh cranial nerve and results in the paralysis of one-half the face. The condition is usually abrupt in onset, reaching its peak within a few hours. In the majority of cases the paralysis appears as an isolated finding without demonstrable cause. The eye on the affected side cannot be closed and its waters excessively. The lips are displaced toward the healthy side and the corner of the mouth sags. "No proof of bacterial or viral infection has yet been adduced, and the actual pathogenesis remains unknown" (Kunkle 1950:1493). Treatment usually consists of kneading and friction on the afflicted side (Goodall-Copestake 1926:225).

124 775 164 I prepared simplified descriptions of ordinary hemiplegia, multiple or disseminated sclerosis, shaking palsy or Parkinson's disease, and Bell's palsy, neuromuscular disorders which all share some symptoms in common, and read them to Sanapia for her reaction. She immediately chose the account of Bell's palsy as a description of ghost sickness, even suggesting that I had based the description on information with which she had supplied me.

775 164 The medical descriptions of Bell's palsy describe the facial paralysis present in ghost sickness; however, in these accounts no mention is made of a concomitantly occurring contraction, spasm, or paralysis of the hands and arms, a symptom which from Sanapia's accounts occurs in many cases of ghost sickness. The emotion of fear, a key theme in the accounts of actual ghost contagion, offers a clue to the etiology of the affliction of the hands and arms. Dr. Gail Neely (1968) offered the suggestion that fear or emotional shock is one of the major causes of hyperventilation, or highly irregular, abnormally rapid respiration. Schottstaedt (1960: 48–51) supports Neely's suggestion and adds:

> Hyperventilation deserves special emphasis because of its importance in giving rise to symptoms. . . . This process ultimately results in a state of respiratory alkalosis with effects throughout the body. Many sensations result from this chemical derangement. . . . If hyperventilation continues long enough, spasms of the hand and feet (tetany), a feeling of being paralyzed, and actual loss of consciousness may occur. . . . Any of these manifestations may arouse fear; the more dramatic ones ordinarily do.
>
> In addition, an anxious person often has irregular respiration, which may become sufficiently severe to produce all of the manifestations of hyperventilation. The overt behavior is usually avoidance, ranging from a readiness or desire for flight to actual running away.

Medical descriptions of tetany, which, as Schottstaedt mentioned, can be caused by hyperventilation, follow Sanapia's description of the hands in ghost sickness to the letter. Aub (1951:1275) writes:

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Conclusion

Lack of Comparable Material

121 MANY OF THE PROBLEMS in evaluating the material presented in this book stem from the fact that there is little Comanche information 114 with which to compare it. The information contained in Kardiner's (1945) discussion of Comanche culture is based on data supplied largely by Ralph Linton which he gathered with the Santa Fe group in 1933. Wallace and Hoebel's (1952) book is almost totally based on material obtained in 1933 by this same group. Therefore, practically all that is known of Comanche ethnography 121 is based on the circumstances of several months in 1933. A further problem is 756 that Sanapia, in her role as eagle doctor, is unique in contemporary Comanche society. There is no one with whom to compare her. This also means that there 124 is no way to check the information which Sanapia supplied, except so far as it was the type which could be verified by other Comanches. Consistency in her responses to the same questions asked at various times and her desire that this study act as the "book of her Medicine way" are the only indications which can be suggested to support the high probability of her veracity in materials which could not be otherwise checked.

Inconsistencies

128 The inconsistencies between data presented by Sanapia and the materials presented by the authors who have written on Comanche notions of power, magic, and religion have been noted in the body of the text. Since any conclusions based on these differences would necessarily be spurious, I will not introduce [756] them again in conclusion. It is enough to say that Sanapia's interpretation of her relation to the supernatural is consistent to her and to other Comanches. It would be futile and improper to discuss whether she is "right" or whether Wallace, Hoebel, and Kardiner are "right."

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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883 177 [291] ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 191 [123] in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 [122] [198] I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation. But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 871 [171] Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also conceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice. Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 871 177 178 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork, and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 264 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 [342] 342 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on platforms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

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584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that 472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the 609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling [563] existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working 842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. 124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

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595 462 went about her tasks cheerfully and willingly. Whichever one of the women divided the labor reserved enough for herself so that she was just as busy as the other women.

857 462 The little girls of the family stayed close to the women the day through, and performed tasks suitable for their ages. But the little boys roamed far and wide, never seeming to have any duties except when they were helping their father with the horses.

521 522 462 During group tasks there was always quite a bit of conversation and considerable laughing. In warm weather the women would go to the creek together, select a place in the shade where the water was [296] about six or eight inches deep, and sit in the water on the sandy bot- [124] tom to do the family wash. I never learned what the talk and laughter were about, as I was never able to accumulate a squaw vocabulary.

521 562 604 124 [198] (Comanche women held only the most necessary conversation with any man, Indian or white, other than their own menfolks. And while I was generally able to figure out the subject of the men's conversation and follow its progress, I seldom recognized a word used by the women when they conversed among themselves. At times I was inclined to think they even had a different language.)

595 The same air of camaraderie seemed to prevail whenever the wives were together in a group. I noticed it in the store whenever there was only one family present. Their trading done, the wives would draw 516 [352] their chairs into a group and converse. They never had chairs in their camps, but the women never passed up the several chairs we had in the store—although once in a while some quite old squaw would insist on sitting on the floor. If the chairs were all occupied, the women never hesitated to sit on the floor, and the people trading would walk around them.

595 Wherever you saw a man's wives—in town, on the reservation, or at a celebration—they always formed a group. You would not find one wife in a store and another out on the street. Two or more groups of wives would often chat together in the store or sit together in the shade on the reservation or at a powwow.

595 422 294 One custom which seemed odd to me was that of each wife's having her own sewing machine. The sewing done by the average family was not so extensive that one machine would not easily have sufficed. Yet each wife would have her own—something I had been alerted to look for by an article that had appeared in the *Star* commenting that each of Quanah Parker's wives had her individual sewing machine.

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When our store opened for business, we had everything to learn about merchandising, and so we had no customs or inhibitions to overcome. I believe this operated to our advantage, especially with the Indian business. Mother selected our dry goods, and her good taste resulted in our having an attractive array of bolts of calico and gingham. Having observed the Indian women's taste in colors and the way they trimmed their clothes, she bought boxes and boxes of braid to match the colors of the piece goods. This unusual display of dry goods undoubtedly did much to attract the Indian women to our store from the very start.

I soon learned the Comanche words and phrases I needed to wait on them. I had no dictionary—as far as I know, the Comanche words had never been listed and defined. My learning was pretty much catch-as-catch-can. I found I could go a long way with the expression *Osh-a-him*. This can be translated as "What is the Comanche word for this?" or "What is this?" or "Who is that man?" or "Whose horse is this?" or "What is that man's name?" and so on and on and on, by inflection of the voice, pointing, and the use of signs.

Boylike, I was much amused at the women's way of shopping. When a family came into the store to trade, one wife would come to the grocery counter and start buying. She knew exactly what she wanted and the amount she wanted. No matter if she had been to Carlisle, if she wanted fifty cents' worth of sugar she said, "*Pina*—four bits." When I had weighed out the sugar, she paid for it and then asked for the next article, always by its Indian name and in amounts divisible by a bit, or 12½ cents. Money to the Comanches was two bits, four bits, six bits, dollar, dollar two bits, etc. Buying in this fashion would continue until all the first wife's wants were satisfied. Then she would place her purchases in a clean flour sack she had brought along for the purpose, and would rejoin the wife group.

Now a second wife would come to the counter, and in the majority of cases would buy exactly what the first wife had bought—and in identical amounts. Then it was wife number three's turn. The only variation would come when they bought the sweets for the children. Each wife bought for her own children, generally some variety of cookies that we kept on display, under glass to protect them from dirt and flies. Usually the older children had their own money and made their own purchases.

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000 to the plant. Should you actually take hold, the tiny spines on the top of each nodule would get you, while if you passed your hand too closely, some of the interlaced spines would be so placed that they would bite. All in all, it was a well-protected cactus, but not a menacing one.

I don't recall how many years Mother kept the cactus sitting on the little knee-high deck built even with the bottom of the window, and I remember but one casualty. One afternoon Mother was helping in the store and waiting on three Indian women. They were the multiple wives of a Comanche living in our trade territory, and were regular store customers.

Mother and Dad made no effort to learn any Comanche, and they much preferred to have me wait on the Indian trade. At the time, I was busy on the grocery side of the store, but I was keeping an eye on her efforts to wait on the three Comanche women. We kept a number of yardsticks on each counter, so that an Indian could point to what he wanted when we didn't understand him. By custom, each wife bought for herself and her children, paying for each article as she bought it. When it came Wife Number Three's turn, Mother began having trouble.

She was the youngest of the three, and would have been the homeliest even if she hadn't lost one of her eyes. Through one of the mysteries of the world of genes, her one child, a little girl about three, was a beauty by anyone's standards. The other wives of a family always had fun with the wife who was buying. They were apparently offering free advice that was neither sought nor appreciated. They bantered back and forth, but I never knew what was being said. As far as I was able to tell, the Indian women spoke a language of their own—at least they had a different vocabulary. I was soon able to follow the men when they talked, but as it was generally expressed, "No savvy squaw talk."

I was sure Number Three was trying deliberately to be difficult. Maybe she was only trying to show off for the other two wives and for some Comanche women sitting in chairs back by the stove. We never took the stove down when spring came, as there was no suitable place to store it. It took up less space in place than elsewhere. Number Three continually refused to use the yardstick Mother tried to hand her, and by motions insisted Mother lay more bolts of calico on the counter.

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Sometimes Mo-cho-rook would butcher a steer and bring at least part of it into town to sell. More properly, I should say to let people buy it. The extreme selling effort he made was to pull the tarpaulin back so that you could see the meat if you walked up. He hauled the meat in the back end of a small hack, or spring wagon, and I assume he took home whatever he failed to sell and dried it.

When you showed him the cut you wanted, he waited until you showed him how much money you had; then he would cut your meat, with an apparently very sharp hunting knife that had about an eight-inch blade. He had no scale to weigh your meat, nor did he have anything to wrap it in. You carried your meat to your home in your hand, unless you had the foresight to bring something to wrap it in. He gave you good value for your money. I recall weighing his meat only once, and it ran about five cents a pound. This was about half what a white butcher would have charged you, had there been a white butcher around.

Fresh meat was hard to get. There was no ice for the first two or three years, and a butcher didn't have much leeway in warm weather. Meat had to be sold the first day. We were entirely dependent on people who would bet that they could sell a beef out before it spoiled. Generally speaking, you only got to buy fresh meat on Saturdays, when there were the most people in town.

I was making every effort to gain a working knowledge of the Comanche language, and whenever I had a friendly Indian in the store I would be writing down the names of things and acquiring useful phrases. Several months passed before I had learned enough so that I could ask some of the old fellows about Mo-cho-rook. The young men didn't care to discuss him. It could have been that they felt he was Bad Medicine.

One day I braced an old chap who was in a talking humor. We were in a comfortable spot, and we worried the subject for a couple of hours. He knew about as much English as I knew Comanche. Obviously, much of the vocabulary that I had accumulated around the store was useless in this conversation. Later I was to talk to numerous others, and ultimately an old squaw man helped me to edit, or arrange it properly, in my mind.

I asked my friend, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook? He no Comanche." Oshey-him may be translated as "Who is?" "What is?" or "Where is?" according to the way it is used, circumstances, etc. I think the most

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agonizing time came after he had told me who Mo-cho-rook was, where he came from, and many of his peculiarities when I asked him, "Oshey-him Mo-cho-rook?" placing the emphasis on Mo-cho-rook. In other words, what does Mo-cho-rook mean? Without going through the painful steps we used to arrive at it, this was his explanation. "White man say, Comanche so cruel he makes white man's blood run cold. Mo-cho-rook means, he is so cruel, he makes Comanche's blood run cold."

This, then is the story of Mo-cho-rook, after placing all the fragments together, and with the editing of the squaw man. Sometime in the middle twenties of the last century, an unusually well-planned raid was made into Old Mexico. It was made by a leader of excellent repute. His raids had always been successful, and he always picked out a select group from the volunteers. This time he selected about a hundred young but proven warriors. Each was to provide himself with two good horses, one to have a pack saddle. The end of the raid was to be the capture of a town that had never been raided from north of the river.

It was well protected on north, east, and west by unhospitable land. It was fifty miles from the nearest water, on those three sides. This rather large ranch town sat near the head of a fertile, well-watered valley. It was twenty-odd miles to the next nearest town, with only ranches lying in between.

These people were very rich in good horses and cattle. Upward of a hundred or more families lived in the town. As the plans were laid out the Comanches would move in to well-concealed hideouts in the hills below the town. The town was too large to be taken by direct attack. At siesta time, part of the warriors would make an attack on the horse herders and stampede the horses to the west out onto the desert. After the pursuit was well away from town, the herd would be headed to the north.

As many of the pursuers as possible would be ambushed, as they would be presumably strung out. But the pursuit was not to be discouraged, and they were to be led as far away from town as possible.

Once the pursuit was well away from town, the rest of the warriors were to attack the town, where the only opposition was supposed to be the old men and the boys. The available horses would have been taken by the able-bodied men of the town for the pursuit. All the old

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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his right arm around the horse's nose and his left arm over its head, 231
pulling the head down. All the time he was standing there hugging the horse's head, he was murmuring what sounded like Comanche baby talk.

After a little while, he took his right arm from around the horse's nose and broke out with a stream of excited talk. Mostly it was Comanche, but some was English when he had the words. Then he took his left arm down and added some sign language.

While this was going on, my horse stood quietly. From the moment the Indian first spoke to him, the horse had directed his attention to him, ignoring me completely. It has always been in my mind that the horse recognized the Indian about as quickly as the Indian recognized the horse.

I doubt if I understood more than 25 percent of what Wer-que- [124]
yah was telling me, and his son, Enoch, wasn't there to interpret. He hadn't seen the horse for five, maybe so six, years. I wondered if he hadn't owned an interest in the horse at one time, or perhaps owned an interest in the brand. The horse had been raced as a two- and three-year-old. Heap fast.

Then the horse ran into a wire fence. The Indian showed me a scar denoting a bad wire cut on the left shoulder, well down toward the leg. This was something else the winter coat had hidden completely, and I hadn't noticed it. Thinking the horse was ruined as a race horse, they had sold it.

The brother lived north of the Wichita Mountains—the sale had been made during reservations days, before the allotment and homesteading. Now here was the horse, well south of the mountains. I am sure my Indian friend thought it little short of a miracle.

I rode the horse to Wer-que-yah's home many times, and to his camp on the reservation when it was Grass Money time. There he would be camped with hundreds of other Indian families for the semi-annual payment. But I don't remember a time he missed petting the horse's head and giving it a bit of Comanche baby talk.

The older Comanches contended that they needed a brand on their 422
horses only as a safeguard from white horse thieves. They claimed to 231
know every horse they owned, whether one or a hundred, and were able to go into a herd and pick out their horses, regardless of how many there were in the herd.

Someway, somehow, this Indian knew a horse he hadn't seen 231

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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father's rider. Comanche-fashion, the boy rode bareback to save the horse the additional weight of a saddle. He rode in his sock feet, as this helped him to grasp the barrel of the horse better. Many races were run from a standing start.

Comanches, who learned about horses from the Mexicans and Spanish, mount a horse from the right. (All horsemen of Europe except the Spanish mount from the left, and we Americans copy them.) This time Albert was using a stock saddle to exercise the larger stallion. The half-wild animal bolted as Albert started to mount. Albert fell, and his right foot caught in the stirrup.

The frantic horse dragged the boy, dangling from the stirrup, through the timber and underbrush of West Cache Creek bottoms for more than two hours before the father could rope it. They sent for the white doctor right away; but when Dr. McLain saw the boy's condition, he felt death was only a matter of hours, and the setting of the bones and cleaning of his wounds would only subject the boy to additional pain.

He left them a supply of morphine tablets to give the injured boy, should he regain consciousness before dying. This was quite in keeping with the practice of medicine at the turn of the century. Doctors passed out morphine tablets as though they were a new cough drop they were advertising. No other medicine, other than quinine, was in as great supply or as cheap. Most families had at least an eight-ounce bottle of laudanum on the pantry shelf. In addition to its value as a medicine for humans, amateur horse-doctors found it useful.

When Jim's wives learned through Earny that the doctor held out no hopes for Albert, they went into the death wail, even before the doctor could leave the camp.

The foregoing is practically all the community ever learned directly about Albert's accident and the events immediately following Dr. McLain's departure. The rest of the story must be told much as a prosecuting attorney presents circumstantial evidence to convict a defendant of a crime when there are no eyewitnesses.

With Dad away I couldn't leave Mother alone with the store, and the day following an arrival of a load of freight was always a busy one. Besides the team to be cared for and the trade to be waited on, there was merchandise to unpack, mark, and put on the shelves. On nearly every load there was a fifty-five-gallon drum of kerosene to be pumped into the store's container.

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164 Albert's scalp was torn loose from just above the hairline on his neck to about the crown of his head. This had been stitched back in place with stitches about three quarters of an inch apart. Along the stitches, and on all the wounds that were uncovered, a white powder had been sprinkled. I assumed that this was powdered calomel, as it was supposed to be the best repellent for screwworm flies.

291 [758] Albert's body was exposed to the warm, dry air, aside from his breech-cloth or G-string. This is traditional covering for a Comanche boy's private parts, front and back, from the time he reaches puberty and throughout his life.

124 From this point, aside from a meager statement made by Big Jim, we are wholly dependent on circumstances for our reconstruction of what happened. Albert, Earny, and neighboring Indians contributed nothing to the overall information. Of course, no one wasted time trying to learn anything from the women. But the circumstances confront us with a succession of phenomena, or miracles, whichever you choose to call them.

177 The white doctor was barely gone when an itinerant cowboy rode into camp and asked for food. Hearing the women wailing, he learned 000 of Albert's accident and offered to set the broken bones. He washed and cleansed the wounds and protruding bones with yellow laundry soap such as the women used when they washed clothes in West Cache Creek. (I can testify about the soap. We sold many, many cases of it over a period of years. Its trade name was Lenox, but I don't remember who manufactured it. It was carried by all jobbers and was the cheapest laundry soap on the market. We sold it at a nickel a bar, six bars for a quarter.)

Should Big Jim's soap story sound far-fetched, let me introduce some corroborating testimony. Jim Carter, who for many years was both a member of the Oklahoma City police force and my personal friend, told me this story. When he was around nineteen, he was a line rider for a ranch out from Olton, Texas, in the Panhandle. Along with a lad two or three years older, he lived in a line shack about fifteen miles from ranch headquarters.

One noonday, after they had eaten, Jim started to mount his horse for his afternoon chore. The horse started bucking before Jim was in the saddle. Somehow his weight came down on his left leg extended across the saddle seat, and the bone in the upper leg snapped, about halfway between the knee and the hip. Of course, Jim fell to the

167: Peters T-5 (1843) 1877 NT13 Navaho NT13 .
Comanche NO6 ●

stantly on the alert for evil, and yet, possessing great skill in the more peaceful and benevolent habits of the herdsman and shepherd.

The depredations of the immense number of sheep, almost daily chronicled in our gazettes, are not made to appease hunger only; but to add to the already immense flocks that overspread, as I have been told by them, the region of country lying west of the Sierra Madre, and east of California.

In the spring and summer of 1843, in company with an old friend — one of the Creeks who had emigrated west of the Mississippi, soon after the treaty with them in 1832 — I traveled westward. My guide and companion had acquired a good knowledge of the language and habits of the Camanches, Navajoes and Apaches, and had probably not altogether abstained from joining them occasionally in their irruptions upon the settlements of their timid neighbors of Chihuahua and Sonoro. I found him "as one having authority," and of course, very useful, both in the protection he afforded me, and the information he enabled me to acquire.

Among the first objects of interest to me, next to the matchless feats of horsemanship they perform, and which have so often been written of — was the number and variety of articles wrought by them, both useful and ornamental, and which might well vie with the skill of more civilized artizans. Among these were the beautiful fabrics composed of wool, and a kind of grass cloth, and some few of cotton. The object, however, of greatest interest to me, was the art of imparting to wool, etc., the beautiful colors I had often before admired, and to this I gave most attention. Like other Indians, I found them unwilling to impart knowledge voluntarily, and I had in my previous and long intercourse with the western tribes, early learned not to make inquiries that might excite their special attention to my designs. Our Indians are not disposed to impart to their white brethren, unless their citizens, any thing that might be useful out of their own country, in which particular, they are not unlike the Chinese, so that with the exceptions of their modes of dyeing and spinning, I will not now attempt to give you any certain account. The information